1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 626 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classificatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 588 *Case 34. Incest*
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself; in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One day the son left them to visit the main camp. On his return he brought with him a wife—a wife to do the cooking and work for them. His sister wanted to leave them to go live in the main camp where she could go to dances and have friends and meet the young men. But her brother forbade it. This brother was in love with her all the time even though he was married. In time, even though he had a wife, he had a child by his sister. 835 588

"Before it came, his sister had missed four periods, so her mother became suspicious. She waited until she was alone with her daughter to question her. The latter revealed to her, 'It is none other than your son. He came at night to the tipi and lifted it up. I thought it was someone else, until it was too late.' Then the family isolated itself even more and the sister had a baby boy born out on the prairie.

"When this happened the father said to his wife, 'What does this mean? What is it all about?'

"And the mother said, 'Come with me. Let us get wood.' When they were in the woods alone, she said to him, 'I did not want to get wood, I wanted to talk to you alone. Our son has begotten a child by our daughter!'

"Light dawned on the father. 'Now I understand,' he said. 'Now I can see why he has kept us away from the rest of the camp. When other men of my age could meet of an evening and smoke, I could not go. We had to be isolated so he could indulge in that insane thing.' It crushed him and he became ill.

"The son went everywhere looking for a medicine man to doctor his father. But the father merely said, 'There is no need for you to go looking. No doctor can cure me. You have killed me.'

"After he had died the mother said to her son, 'Now, my son, you have brought all this on us. You have committed unheard-of things. I, who have lived long, have never heard its equal. You have caused your father's death. Now you must take your own sister to yourself as wife. I am going back to my people.' She did not go back to her own family, but lived among friends in the main camp. When people asked her why she had come back alone, she only told them that her husband had died and that she had come back to her people. She was still mourning him, and so his relatives came to join her in her grievous wails.

"Three years passed. The brother and sister and his first wife came back to the main camp. The sister was the favorite wife and the other was the chore wife. His father's folks heard they had come back to the camp, so they went to call on them right away. They came to wail with them for the father's death which had occurred three years before. The child was now three years old. 'Whose child is that?' asked one of the aunts. 'Is it yours?' she questioned the chore wife.

" 'No, it is hers,' pointing to the sister.

" 'Is he—her brother—married to her?'

" 'Yes, he has taken her to wife.'

" 'This is unheard of,' the aunt cried. 'It is insane. Since he has taken his sister as wife, I suppose he will take me too. I am not coming to see you any more. You are living so disgracefully, I cannot come any more.' During this whole time the brother and sister said never a word.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

835 "They stayed right on in camp. The brother and sister and chore wife lived together and the child grew up. Some people called on them, but even though they lived in the main camp, they were isolated. People like myself, who knew what was right, thought the brother was crazy. Some men would smoke with him and try to tell him evil would come of it.

"Yet they lived through it all without mishaps and died a ripe, old age."

626 835 588 Here society was completely disarmed by a thick-skinned individual. The barbs of public and familial disapproval did not penetrate. There were no legal shafts to hurl—the deed was neither tort nor crime—he matched his indifference against society's impotence—and won.

There were other cases. Red Youth married his sister's daughter. Though he was much older than she, they were married and lived together for years. People called it aɪakwɜ'stɜn, niece-uncle marriage, in a sneering way.

In another marriage of this sort, Pointing To The Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet. His sister, Takes Two Scalps refused to call him "son-in-law." She always called him "elder brother": it was as though he were not married to her daughter. People always made it a point, however, to refer to him as her son-in-law. *They* were not going to let it pass.

In all these cases the male was the incestuous aggressor. Such men were referred to as crazy (pɔ'sa). They did not care for the delicacies of convention.

935 There is a mythological tragedy, however, in which the sister was the aggressor. The boy reacted heroically. He is held up as the ideal to Comanche children: his sister is given them as the example of what comes of shamelessness.

This boy was old enough to have his separate tipi. His sister slept in the big tipi with the parents just as was usually done. One night a girl slipped into the tipi of the youth and lay with him. He did not know who it was in the dark. He was curious, so he marked her dress down the back with paint while they were together.

The next day he went over to where the women were playing shinny to look for his mark. His sister had the mark on her dress! The boy was ashamed; but he did not say anything. He just went away and cut a short double-pointed dogwood spear and took it with him to bed that night. Again his sister came and lay with him as before. Just as they pressed themselves together, he shoved the spear between their breasts. It pierced them both. In the morning the parents came to see why the boy did not come out. They found them dead. The mother was so angry with the shameless daughter that she cut and slashed the body of the girl all to pieces.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C K 601 829 179 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by into-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

C K 601 179 602 [161] [582] [588] [684]